

226 YUMAN TRIBES OF THE GILA RIVER

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593 Since aboriginal conditions are almost wholly a thing of the  
past, it is not easy to say what was the nature of family life.  
592 Relatives lived close together in a village. Two or three families  
lived together in a single house at times ("when they loved each  
other so they could not separate"), but such joint households  
were not common. Joint households were ordinarily comprised  
of patrilineal relatives.

[602] They take more pride in that family. Of course, they do have respect for all  
their relatives, but more for those on the father's side.

[115]  
513 A description was obtained from Hoot of the composition of  
592 the household in which she lived as a girl. She remembers a large  
house, her father's sister's home. Her aunt, uncle, and their two  
children slept on the south side; on the north side were her own  
parents, a younger brother, and herself. The southwest quarter  
was reserved for her father's mother's sister. Later this house-  
hold broke up when her parents built a home of their own. There  
her parents slept on the south side; she herself was on the north  
side, but she never slept alone. At times the younger brother  
slept with her, but he, a little boy, would sometimes sleep be-  
tween his parents. Then she would prevail on a girl friend to  
[356] stay with her. Cooking utensils were stored on the south side  
near the door, so as to be handy for her mother when she arose.

[574] The rear of the house was left vacant for a visiting relative or  
friend.

When Last Star was a boy, in his house there were only his  
parents and his father's mother. He was an only child. His par-  
ents slept on the north side ("Parents always sleep on the north  
side"), his grandmother and himself opposite. The rear of the  
house was left for storage; food and water stood opposite beside  
[354] the door. The fireplace was between the eastern pair of main  
posts.

• 855 All elders of a household assumed parental relation to the  
children, feeding, admonishing, and training them.<sup>66</sup> A boy's  
father or either grandfather made him his first bow, for example.

[597] Step-parents assumed the relation of parents to their step-child.

<sup>66</sup> The special influence of the mother's brother, as among the Hopi, and that  
of the maternal grandfather, known among the Paiute, was wholly absent.

## SOCIAL RELATIONS

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dren: nevertheless, they would never think of using parent-child terms for one another. They would be horrified by the reference to the dead. Adoption of children was frequent because of the wars. Even distant relatives would take them. When the child was adult, he would look on his foster-parents as he would on true parents. They have a saying: "never abuse a child, because the day will come when you too will be [as] a child." Yet occasionally orphans and step-children were mistreated. Despite this sentiment, there was a curious detachment toward children. No one would wholly blame a woman for deserting her children if her husband had given her sufficient cause.

An illustrative incident dates from about 1840. There was a Kohuana woman of the Kohuana village at Gila Crossing whose husband had died. She had two little children, a boy of six and a girl of two. She decided that she wanted to live with her relatives still on the Colorado. She thought the little children could never travel that far afoot. So she prepared provisions for herself, sent the children off to play, merely telling them to wait for her, and stole off to join the group that was going. When she failed to return, the boy led his little sister by the hand from house to house, inquiring for her. At night he would take her into the meeting house and build a fire to keep warm. In the morning they would go to someone's house to be fed. They had no relatives there. The boy said, "If I have no relatives here, I will call you all *ciyi*,"<sup>6</sup> strangers." The two were inseparable. People took care of them. When they were grown, he said, "I have taken the trouble to bring up my sister; now someone should take the trouble to marry her." Both have long been dead.

A brother and sister had the highest respect for each other; they would not use obscene words in the other's presence, for example. Yet I received the impression that this had none of the stringency of Crow custom,<sup>6</sup> but was rather our own middle-class attitude.

Relationship seems to have imposed an obligation to be at least friendly and helpful if needed. Today, relatives gather to till each other's fields, expecting no more than to be fed by their host, or they tend each other's children.

Something of this sentiment is reflected in the following tale. In the early days an American beaver hunter living west of the Gila Bend Mountains was friendly with the Maricopa. He had bags of dried beaver skins there. Some

<sup>6</sup> The use of this form (*ciyi* instead of *kiyi*) indicates that he must have been addressing the women.

<sup>6</sup> Lowie, *Social Life of the Crow*, p. 214.

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787 ridge of the) Sierra Estrella from east to west, the bird talking all the way without pausing for breath. Then he tries the dreamer. When he too can do this he is ready as an orator.

There is one war leader, the only man who dreams of going after the enemy. When he dies, another takes his place at dreaming this. He dreams of overcoming danger and killing enemies. He dreams only of being successful in his fights. In his dreams he could see certain little flies (kumanyihwi') fighting up in the air. He saw by the way they fought how he should act to be successful in his battles. He also dreams he sees certain cacti (\*xu'l), in the form of humans, fighting. When they see he is fitted for his position, the spirit [sic] takes him into a large cave inside the mountain in enemy territory. As he enters he sees a club, a shield, and a spear hanging on the walls of the house. Each time he is taken there, they give him a chance to use one of these. He keeps practising until he has used them all. Then he leads his people to war.

787 The dream was also patterned on the four-fold division of the  
822 night; a pattern which was omnipresent in Maricopa thought. It appeared in the conduct of meetings, in the organization of curing by shamans, in orations to the dying, and in songs. These divisions were named "went down," evening; "old night," the middle of the night (its major part); "nearing," before dawn; and "dawn."\* Significant dreams occurred at any time during the night according to the following statements, but those that were favorable came only in the middle hours.

[513] When they dream of animals, birds, and insects, the night is as clear as day-  
[855] light. In the first part of the night, it makes the dreamer kind of wild. The animals and other beings will eat each other. Hence a child is kept awake during the early part of the night, until ten o'clock, to avoid this. In the early evening one has bad dreams.

After sunset, the birds, animals, and even the spirits of trees are moving around, so if you go to bed early you will have bad dreams. In the second part of the night, they have settled down to quiet. Then is the time one will not dream of anything bad. They do not say anything about the third part of the night.

[823] There is a saying that there is a person standing in the west and another in the  
[827] east, who between them swing the whole world so that everybody sleeps, just as a baby is swung to sleep.

At dawn, the larger birds (eagle and hawk) begin to wake and kill the little birds and insects. Blood stains are everywhere. If anybody still sleeps in this atmosphere, he will dream of bad things. So they wake children and young people before the sun rises.

[855] Toward early morning, before dawn, the spirit birds are fighting and eating  
[753] each other, all with bloodstains. If one dreams of this he will get sick. That is  
[773] why people always wake their children before sunrise.

\* See p. 145.

Maricopa

Halchidhoma

Kohuana

## INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT

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parents are very indulgent, much given to fondling the younger children, and rarely punish them. But—here is the essential point—they demand implicit obedience and see that they get it. 861

For all the lavished care normally the lot of children, there were cases to the contrary implying a certain detachment. Children were sometimes abandoned or destroyed.

While the Halchidhoma were still on the Colorado, a woman, whose first husband had sent her away because she bore him no children, had a girl baby by a second husband. His family made them separate because it was a girl. She said it was not right to raise a child who had no father, implying it was a bastard, so she drowned it. 847

Of a woman now living they say, "She was raised in a coyote's mouth." When she was a newborn (?) baby, her mother did not want her and put her off in the bushes. Her children had always died when but a few days or weeks old, so she thought it was no use trying to raise this one. They say a coyote must have kept the baby in his mouth all night, and in the morning opened it so the sun would warm the child. (This was, of course, a saying, not a belief.) Next morning the husband's mother said she did not want the child to die, so she fetched it and brought it up. It was given to various relatives to nurse. The girl, now in middle life, says she is "mean" because she was abandoned to die; that now her mother is old, she expects care from her daughter, but why should she give it? As a matter of fact, it is well known that she takes good care of her mother. 736 855

About 1840 a Kohuana widow of Gila Crossing decided that she wanted to rejoin her relatives still on the Colorado. She did not think her children, a boy of six and a girl of two, could make the long journey across the desert, so she abandoned them. Telling them to go to play, she stole away. The children slept in the meeting house and ate with whom they could. They had no relatives there, but people befriended them.

There was a saying: never abuse a child, because the day will come when you too will be a child (childish); which also implies their consideration for the aged. 855 888

Captive children, other than those sold immediately, were reared much like one's own. When a capture was made, the child was always turned over to an old man, who had not much longer to live anyway, for a captive might cause its captor to sicken. For sixteen days following the capture, the captive had to bathe, eat and sleep apart like the actual captor until it was purified. The old man's family would usually rear the child kindly, treat it as a son or daughter, especially if their own daughter was fond of her adopted sister. Others than members of this family might abuse them, but after they were grown and married to